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ABSTRACT

The American Indian has been a common American motif, not recognized as part of the American present. As the modern American Indian woman moves into the White world of work, she often experiences a "double bind" as the object of both ethnic and sex role stereotypes. This paper examines the relationships between the job satisfaction of American Indian women supervisors and their perceptions of co-workers' stereotypes of them as American Indians and women. A national sample of 116 American Indian female supervisors in nine diverse fields completed questionnaires. Perceptions of co-worker ethnic stereotyping had significant negative correlations with job satisfaction for the total sample and for subjects having a male or a non-Indian supervisor. Perceptions of co-worker sex role stereotyping had significant negative correlations with job satisfaction for the total sample and for all subgroups. Perceptions of ethnic stereotyping were significantly correlated with perceptions of sex role stereotyping for the total sample and all subgroups. This paper contains 28 references. (SV)

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STEREOTYPING AND JOB SATISFACTION AMONG AMERICAN INDIAN FEMALE SUPERVISORS

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INTRODUCTION

The tendency and acceptability of stereotyping the American Indian has been woven into accounts of, and by, American Indians since the origins of reports which focused on the descriptions of their culture and unique ethnicity. These stereotypic representations have been heightened by literature and media representations. Cultural stereotypes about the nature of work and women have been so persistent in the history of the working woman that the wide range of women's experiences as laboring people has been ignored in favor of stereotypical expectation (Murphy, 1988).

From the combination of centuries of stereotypical representations of American Indians, particularly the female, and working women, stereotypes of American Indian women supervisors have evolved. This combination has persisted as the presentation of the American Indian female as the "squaw" or the "Cherokee princess" remains familiar (Jaimes, 1982). Modern sociological assumptions recognized the contradiction of designating American Indian women in stereotypes, particularly those in leadership positions. The modern American Indian female has been viewed in the context of these historic stereotypes, particularly if she has attempted to maintain her cultural identity within the scope of the non-Indian society. While historic study has revealed that stereotypes of American Indian women were founded in misinterpretations of observations from a dominant culture, many have remained primary in modern descriptions of Native American women. Examples of such misrepresentations are detailed in several modern sociological perspectives (Dwers, 1962; Devereux, 1961; Schubert & Cropley, 1972; Trimble, 1977; Weist, 1980).

Anthropologist Robert H. Lowie reported that among Indians of the Great Plains, the position of women was decidedly hither than was often assumed (Terrell and Terrell, 1974). His conclusion was that in the vast majority of the hundreds of American Indian tribes, whether their social structure was patrilineal, matrilineal, or bilateral, women not only enjoyed well-defined prerogatives, but among a large number wielded considerable

social, religious, and political power. These examples now can be explained logically and can be understood clearly within the cultural framework of a particular band of tribe.

With these examples, it has become easier to understand the role of the American Indian female in the power structure of varied cultures. In many of the nearly 300 distinct pre-white societies, women held power. The Iroquois, for example, had a society approximately 400 years ago which has been described as most nearly a true matriarchy as has ever existed in modern or ancient time (Anderson, 1981).

In analyzing the status of women in a particular aboriginal tribe, one is confronted with irrefutable evidence that their rank was predicated upon certain premises: "the conditions of the environment, the nature of the economy, the forms of social and political institutions, and the kind of domination exercised by gods" (Terrell and Terrell, 1974, p. 28). Within the parameters of the various cultures, documented evidence of the status of females has included references in oral traditions to the following: White Buffalo Calf Woman (Dakota), Deer Mother (Taos), Corn Mother (Hopi), and Changing Woman (Navajo). Within these references, the status of woman (or mother) has remained predominant (Ross, 1982).

In response to new demands on varied Indian cultures in this country, Miller (1978) asserted that a new Native American woman was emerging--one who managed in both a traditional culture and a dominant one. These women represented a "changing woman", whose role opened them personally to discredit and ridicule in their society. Wittstock (1976) observed that those Native American women who sought to preserve tribal identity in an "outside" world eventually became ritualized in their opinions. One essayist (Rhea, 1970) advocated the basic applied Rogerian concept in regard to the study of Indians as a group, i.e., learn from the group itself rather than bringing outside observations into the study.

One dilemma which has continued to face Native American women has been a cultural. It has been the dilemma of the changing, emerging progressive role of all women

in a dominant society. The assimilation of American Indian women into a predominantly Anglo society has contributed to their own kind of "identity" crisis", often weakening their role within the tribe (Jaimes, 1982). The duplication of stereotype, resulting in a "double bind" (a term coined in 1972 by Frances Beale, see King, 1988) for American Indian women supervisors will be discussed within the framework of the variable job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction has been defined and described in constructs which have a research basis. The linkage of job satisfaction and the perceptions of stereotypes, specifically those of the female American Indian, was the basis of this study. The conceptual research base of dissonance theory and implicit personality theory, included ethnic and sex-role stereotyping.

OBJECTIVES

This study was designed to investigate the relationship between American Indian women supervisors' job satisfaction and how they felt they were perceived by their co-workers in two roles, i.e., an American Indian and a female. Specifically, does the manner in which American Indian women supervisors view their co-workers perceptions of ethnic and sex-role stereotypes correlate with their perceptions of job satisfaction.

The questions tested in the study included the following:

1. Is there a correlation between the perception of ethnic stereotype and the perception of job satisfaction among American Indian female supervisors.
2. Is their a correlation between the perception of sex role stereotype and the perception of job satisfaction among American Indian female supervisors.
3. Is there a correlation between the perceptions of stereotype and the perception of job satisfaction for American Indian female supervisors.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this study was based on Festinger's (1957) early analysis of cognitive dissonance and on Bruner and Tagirui's (1954) study of implicit

personality theory. These conceptual analyses served as the basis for discussion of the perceptions of stereotypes, particularly ethnic and sex-role stereotyping.

In the concept of cognitive dissonance, the assumptions for avoidance interfaced with the concept of implicit personality theory to clarify the perceptions of American Indian women supervisors. Festinger's (1957) hypothesis of dissonance avoidance proposed that pressure to reduce dissonance appeared as soon as the dissonance was manifested. Individuals changed cognitions about behaviors by changing actions, or by changing knowledge about behaviors. Dissonance could arise because of cultural mores. The dissonance existed because the culture defined what was consonant, and what was not.

Implicit personality theory, as proposed by Bruner and Tagurui (1954), addressed the culture of individuals. This theory examined generalizations made by individuals. The study of stereotypes is a determination of an individual's general perceptions of others. Since implicit personality theory is a hypothetical construct of what is perceived inside a person's head, it includes "trait elements" or "attributes of personality" that an individual believes others possess. The individual also believes that there are inferential relations among trait elements. Researchers designate this construct as implicit because they assume that individuals can be unaware that they infer certain trait elements in most situations.

METHODOLOGY

The collection of the data was completed using a three-part questionnaire developed for this study. Each of the following variables was measured on a separate instrument developed for use in this study and incorporated into one questionnaire: Ethnic stereotype, Sex-Role stereotype, and Job Satisfaction.

Ethnic stereotype was measured through the administration of a twenty-three item questionnaire based on indicators of ethnic stereotype reported in a review of the literature, including: cross culture stereotype (government, language, tradition); reciprocal stereotype (conformity, customs, physical characteristics); and self-stereotype (customs, physical characteristics, names). Sex-role stereotype was measured through the administration of a

twenty item questionnaire based on these indicators: self-image, males' stereotype of feminine women; women's perceptions of males' stereotype of feminine women. Job satisfaction was measured by indicators which included: social aspect of the job (interaction, accessibility, peer relations, supervisory method, human relations skills, organizational climate); intrinsic aspects (status, self-actualization, job involvement); situational determinants (span of control, size, scope, level); ecological environment sources of influence (working conditions); and compensation (expectation, performance).

DATA SOURCE

The sample represented a national profile of American Indian women professionals who supervised in the following areas: Art, Business, Communication, Education, Health Care, Law, Science, Social Work, and Tribal Business. The total number used in the study was 116 which represented 58 per cent of the initial two hundred individuals in the sample. Demographic information which was used to project a profile of American Indian women supervisors included the following: age, tribal affiliation, number of males/females supervised, professional area, salary, performance evaluation, and formal education.

FINDINGS

The questionnaire, which was developed for this study, allowed the investigator to assign a subscore on each of the three variables, so that for each respondent, there was a score for ethnic stereotype, sex-role stereotype, and job satisfaction. The data were analyzed using correlation coefficients for the following subgroups. Table l: Total Sample; Table 2, 3: Sex of Supervisor; Table 4, 5: Ethnicity of Supervisor; Table 6, 7, 8: Job Performance. Ratings of job performance in categories of "Marginal" and "Unsatisfactory" did not yield a sufficient sample size to calculate the correlations. A separate correlation was calculated on the three variables (ethnic stereotype, sex-role stereotype, and job satisfaction) for each subgroup.

TABLE 1

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction

FEMALE AMERICAN INDIAN SUPERVISORS

	R-Square	Job Satisfaction Multiple R
Ethnic stereotype	0.0486	.2206203
Sex-Role stereotype	0.1381	.3716533
Ethnic stereotype & Sex-Role Stereotype	0.1381	.3716731
N = 116		F 18.2700

The multiple R represented the maximum correlation between the dependent variable of job satisfaction and a weighted combination of ethnic and sex-role stereotyping. As illustrated in Table I, ethnic stereotype produced a multiple R of .3716731. The variables of ethnic and sex-role stereotype have a .60 correlation with each other. They appear to be much the same and the contribution of ethnic stereotype to the correlation of job satisfaction is minimal.

TABLE 2

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
FEMALE SUPERVISOR

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.73*	-.29
Sex-Role stereotype	.73	1.00	-.56*
Job Satisfaction	-.29	.56*	1.00
N = 26			*Significant at .01 level

TABLE 3

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
MALE SUPERVISOR

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.52*	-.19*
Sex-Role stereotype	.52*	1.00	-.30*
Job Satisfaction	-.19*	.30*	1.00

N = 86 *Significant at .01 level

In Table 2 and Table 3 the sample population has been categorized into two groups. Table 2 reports the results of those individuals in the sample who indicated that their immediate supervisor was female. Table 3 reports the results of those individuals in the sample who indicated that their immediate supervisor was male. Four individuals who completed the instruments did not report the sex of their immediate supervisor and were not included in the samples used for Table 2 and Table 3.

In Table 2, the correlation between the interactive perception of ethnic stereotype and the perception of sex-role stereotype is .73 which is significant at .01. This represented the highest positive correlation calculated for any of the subgroups and indicated a substantial relationship between the two variables. Compared to Table 3, the perception of ethnic stereotype and the perception of sex-role stereotype is .52 which is again significant at .01. This represented a more moderate effect among women who had male supervisors

For those individuals who reported female supervisors, the correlation between perceptions of ethnicity and job satisfaction was -.29 (Table 2). This indicated that for this subgroup, women who believed they were perceived as Indian stereotypes reported low satisfaction in their jobs. For the group which indicated that their immediate supervisor was male (Table 3), the correlation between perception of ethnic stereotype and job satisfaction was -.19*. This level of significance indicated that those women who believed others treated them as Indian stereotypes tended to report lower job satisfaction. The group

having the male supervisor tended to report less correlation with satisfaction in their supervisory roles than did the group which had a female supervisor.

For the group having a female supervisor, the correlation between perceptions of sex-role stereotype and job satisfaction was -.56 which is significant at .01 (Table 2). For the group which reported that their immediate supervisor was male, (Table 3), the correlation between perception of sex-role stereotype and job satisfaction was -.30 (significant at .01).

The total group was also subdivided into those individuals who reported that their immediate supervisor was American Indian and those who reported that their immediate supervisor was non-Indian. These two groups represented an almost exact division of the total, with the American Indian supervisors reported by 55 individuals and the non-Indian supervisors reported by 57 individuals in the sample. Four of the respondents did not indicate this information and were not included in this subtest.

TABLE 4

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
AMERICAN INDIAN SUPERVISOR

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.69*	-.34*
Sex-Role stereotype	.69*	1.00	-.40*
Job Satisfaction	-.34*	.40*	1.00

N = 55 *Significant at .01 level

TABLE 5

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
NON-INDIAN SUPERVISOR

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.45*	-.10*
Sex-Role stereotype	.45*	1.00	-.40*
Job Satisfaction	-.10*	.40*	1.00

N = 57 *Significant at .01 level

For those individuals who reported that their own supervisor was American Indian (Table 4), the interactive relationship between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and sex-role stereotype was substantial at .69 (significant at .01). It was more moderate in the group which indicated that their immediate supervisor was Non-Indian (Table 5) at .45, yet, still significant.

For those in the sample who reported that their supervisor was American Indian (Table 4), perceptions of ethnic stereotype negatively correlated with job satisfaction at -.34 (significant at .01). These individuals tended to report less correlation with satisfaction in their positions. For those reporting a Non-Indian supervisor (Table 5), the correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and job satisfaction was not significant (-.10).

For those who reported an American Indian supervisor (Table 4), the perceptions of sex-role stereotype and job satisfaction correlated at a moderate -.40 (significant at .01). This correlation was reported by both groups. Again, it appeared that the respondents reported that ethnic stereotype correlated with perceptions of job satisfaction when compared with Non-Indian supervisors and interacted with evidence of sex-role stereotyping. However, the variable of sex-role stereotype appeared to correlate with the reports by the sample of job satisfaction more than the variable of ethnic stereotype.

From a review of the data which were collected and subdivided based on level of performance in their last yearly evaluation, those individuals who had received an outstanding rating (see Table 6) had a correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and sex-role stereotype of .42 (significant at .01 level). The correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and job satisfaction was -.13 which was not significant. Individuals who were rated as outstanding on their job performance tended to report limited perceptions of ethnic stereotype as it related to their satisfaction. This group did, however, indicate at -.31 (significant at .01) correlation of perceptions of sex-role stereotype to job satisfaction indicating a low relationship between the two.

TABLE 6

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
OUTSTANDING PERFORMANCE RATING

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.42*	-.13*
Sex-Role stereotype	.42*	1.00	-.31*
Job Satisfaction	-.13	.31*	1.00

N = 43 *Significant at .01 level

While the subgroup which rated the highest on their performance evaluation evidenced only a slight negative correlation between their perceptions of stereotype and their job satisfaction, those individuals who were subgrouped as "Above Satisfactory" and "Satisfactory" indicated a higher correlation between the interaction of variables of stereotype, .69 and .86 respectively (See Table 7 and Table 8).

Those individuals who reported "Above Satisfactory" had a -.22 correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and job satisfaction (Table 7). This was not significant. This group did not tend to report less satisfaction with their job relative to their perceptions of an Indian stereotype. They did report a -.37 (significant at .01) correlation between sex-role stereotype and job satisfaction indicating that if they perceived themselves as being viewed a female stereotype, they tended to report less satisfaction in their role as a manger.

For each of the three groups ("Outstanding", "Above Satisfactory", and "Satisfactory") reporting job performance, the perceptions of sex-role stereotype appeared to relate to their reports of job satisfaction more than their perceptions of ethnic stereotype.

TABLE 7

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
ABOVE SATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE RATING

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.69*	-.22
Sex-Role stereotype	.69*	1.00	-.37*
Job Satisfaction	-.22	.37*	1.00

N = 52 *Significant at .01 level

TABLE 8

Correlations of Stereotype Perceptions/Job Satisfaction
SATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE RATING

	Ethnic	Sex-Role	Job Satisfaction
Ethnic stereotype	1.00	.86*	-.41
Sex-Role stereotype	.86*	1.00	-.51*
Job Satisfaction	-.41	.51*	1.00

N = 13 *Significant at .01 level

The last subgroup identified was that of Satisfactory performance rating (Table 8). This group had a .86 interactive correlation between ethnic stereotype and sex-role stereotype. It was, too, the smallest N (13) reported of the three. This group had a -.41 correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and job satisfaction, which was not significant. However, the group did have a -.51 correlation of their perceptions of sex-role stereotype and that of job satisfaction. This correlation was significant at the .01 level. These three subgroups represented 108 of the total N for the population; one individual reported a performance rating of Unsatisfactory and seven individuals did not report the data.

CONCLUSIONS

For the total sample, research question one appeared to be valid as stated. It was valid for each of the subgroups investigated. However, in the group having the female supervisor, the correlation was not strong enough to be reported as significant. This was

true also for the group which had the Non-Indian supervisor. There were, therefore, at least two instances where the perceptions of ethnic stereotype did not tend to affect reports of job satisfaction. In these two categories, the subjects did not feel they were perceived as a female Indian stereotype or were not threatened by that perception.

The three subgroups of performance evaluation (Outstanding, Above Satisfactory, and Satisfactory) each reported a similar negative correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and their tendency to report job dissatisfaction. While the three groups reported negative correlations, none was significant. This lack of significance indicated that for these three groups, the perceptions of ethnic stereotype have little relationship to their role as a supervisor. Again, the individuals, basically the entire sample, found little threat in being viewed as an ethnic stereotype.

It is interesting to note that while none of the levels were significant in these three groups, the correlation became stronger as the rating moved downward, that is, for an Outstanding rating the correlation was -.13, for Above Satisfactory, it was -.22 and for Satisfactory, it was -.41. This indicated that as the group became less likely to feel comfortable with their performance rating, the correlation became more evident. For individuals in the Satisfactory performance level group, they may have reported more perceptions of stereotype as an Indian female in an effort to affect some cause to their level of performance.

The second research question involved the negative relationship between perceptions of sex-role and job satisfaction. For the overall group, this relationship was moderate. In fact, it was moderate for each of the subgroups (Total, Female Supervisor, Male Supervisor, American Indian Supervisor, Non-Indian supervisor, Outstanding Performance, Above Satisfactory Performance, and Satisfactory Performance) assessed. In each case, the correlation was negative and its strength significant. It appeared that this population felt more pressure from the typical female sex-role stereotype, than with that of the female American Indian stereotype. One reason this may be true is that this population

may be ethnocentric and not tend to view the stereotype of the Indian as a negative one, particularly within a predominantly Native community, like the world of work. The female sex-role, on the other hand, if founded in a stereotype from a predominantly white culture, and this population appeared to feel less comfortable with that acculturation.

The last research question involving the interactive correlation of perceptions of ethnic and sex-role stereotyping to job satisfaction may be viewed through the shared variance of ethnic and sex-role stereotype reported in each subgroup. The analysis indicated that there is a significant correlation between perceptions of ethnic stereotype and perceptions of sex-role stereotype for each of the groups assessed.

These significant relationships ranged from .42 to .86. Combining the two stereotypes tended to compound the problems for the sample. However, as indicated in the conclusions based on the research question regarding ethnic stereotype, the interaction of the two may have tended to eliminate some of the negative effects of the sex-role stereotype in favor of the ethnic stereotype. It was evident that an individual who tended to report perceptions of ethnic stereotype also tended to report perceptions of sex-role stereotype.

The study did not attempt to delineate between the sample's assessment of a stereotyped role as positive or negative, yet from the relationships reported, it is evident that some American Indian female supervisors feel that it has influenced them negatively to be seen in the role of the female American Indian supervisor. They do feel more uncomfortable with the sex-role stereotype alone, and it appeared they viewed this stereotype negatively.

The conclusions drawn form the correlations of this study elicit further questions. These correlations, as well as others not assessed, may contribute to the perceptions of job satisfaction for the American Indian female supervisor. The review of related research has established the "double bind" as a focus of inquiry. This research established the strength and weaknesses of various relationships within the scope of the "double bind". Clearly,

further study in the area of inferential relationships would provide a link to the practical questions generated from this study.

The Indian, by and large, has been a motif embedded in America, not perceived as part of the American present. The confusion has resulted form the fact that often Indian people have been mistaken for the Indian (Dorris, 1981). The management implications resulting from this study have focused on the assessment of individuals.

Employers of a work force which may include American Indian women, particularly supervisors, have been aware that job performance is influenced by job satisfaction. The training, expense, and energy which is required of a supervisor in the recruitment and retention of qualified Indian women should provide motivation for continuing effort to study this segment of the work force.

American Indian women have traditionally performed many important responsibilities as role models for other Native Americans (Edwards, Edwards, Daines, and Reed, 1984). Meaningful roles were modeled continuously for American Indian children by women in their own and extended families (Niethammer, 1977). The perpetuation of such modeling can be sen as beneficial in recruiting American Indian women into the job force, particularly in supervisory roles.

Finally, in assessing the practical implications of the study, it should be noted that the past decade has witnessed a call for the research of American Indians to be done by American Indians (Ryan and Spence, 1978; Brown, 1980). More recently, LaFramboise and Plake (1983) proposed a curricular integration focusing on educational research by American Indians.

The framework and concepts, as well as the evaluations and conclusions, studied here represented those of American Indian female supervisors. Contemporary Indian female writers now call for a coalition of Indian peoples which acknowledges the diversity among all Indians and aspires that Indian women quit living a white woman's stereotype of Indian women (Butterfield and Scheirbeck, 1980). McClung (1980) asserted that the

"American Dream" has not happened to Indian women because of a lack of awareness and opportunity resulting from historical stereotypes.

Much has been written about how and why Indian women have not joined the women's movement. Some authors have postulated that Indian women have equal status with males within their own culture. Others indicate that the movement is a product of upper-middle class white women; still others believe that Indian women have been too busy surviving to participate. It has appeared that all of these have basis, however, Anderson (1981) theorized that it was a matter of economics. Indian women, she felt, would remain powerless until they recognized that their cultures were viewed by policy-making bureaucrats as one stereotype.

Indian women are often seen as being "the Indian" in a non-Indian situation. They are seen as representative, whether they like it or not. Success for Indian women today is dependent upon learning how to take the best from both worlds (Witt, 1979). Their success may require using the stereotype, if necessary, to create a common dialogue.

If American Indian women are to compete equally in the job market as effective supervisors, it my be necessary to alert employers to those considerations which affect job satisfaction in that role. It may be that certain identified or ascribed traits perceived as undesirable by individual American Indian women supervisors negated their perceptions of job satisfaction. The "double bind" may be a critical component of job satisfaction for these employees.

As the law has demanded equal opportunity for this population, the questions of equality can only be addressed by the employers and the employees. Available evidence which strengthens or weakens the perceptions of job satisfaction is clearly an important consideration for potential employers and could add to the self-awareness of employees. The relationship between employers and employees can be strengthened with this awareness.

This assessment of the practical implications is based on the issues this research has generated, rather than on the issues of relationships presented by the data studied in this sample. While these implications are a result of tangential questions of cause and effect, the relationship data presented and discussed should serve as a basis for further areas of research. These practical implications focus, therefore, on the need to re-evaluate the assumptions of the "double bind" as to focus on future inquiry in the field of stereotyping.

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